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ABSTRACT

A study examined attitude change for viewers of "Amerika," an ABC television miniseries about the takeover of the United States by Soviet forces. Subjects, 267 undergraduates in communication courses at Memphis State University, completed a pretest a week prior to the airing of "Amerika" and a posttest a week after. The respondents were told that the purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information about student attitudes on topics of national interest, and all references to "Amerika" were avoided until after subjects had completed the posttest. Results indicated that only 18% of the respondents reported viewing more than 2 hours of the more than 14-hour miniseries. The failure of "Amerika" to capture the attention of the general television audience suggests that the series had a limited appeal. Attitude change appeared to be focused on actions that should be taken to prevent the kind of Soviet conquest depicted in the series. Respondents who experienced an increasing sense of loyalty to their country were less likely to have been exposed to series publicity (most of it negative). Respondents with stronger beliefs that Americans should have more freedoms than citizens of other countries, that the communist threat is important, and that the United States needs a strong military defense were slightly more likely to have seen more of the series than others. Apparently, "Amerika" did suggest to some viewers that Americans need to do more to protect their freedoms. (Tables of data, notes, and 40 references are appended.) (NKA)

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The Impact of a Mini-Series: A Quasi-Experimental Study of Attitude Change Produced by "Amerika"

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Introduction

With its inception in October 1985, "Amerika" triggered intense public controversy. After attacks on it appeared in prominent American newspapers, the Soviet Union brought international attention to the proposed sweeps month mini-series by threatening to expel ABC journalists from Moscow if the series was aired by that network (Baker, 1986; Boyer, 1986a; Turmoil over 'Amerika', 1986). ABC's initial reluctance to develop the series then came under attack from conservatives, including Secretary of Education William Bennett, who announced at a January, 1986 press conference that ABC should "consider telling Moscow where they can put their intimidation" (Bennett Sees 'Bullying,' 1986: A7; ABC Criticized, 1986).

ABC found new resolve and committed approximately $41 million to the project (Shales, 1986; Boyer, 1986b). However, controversy continued to develop. Concerned about the portrayal of its peacekeepers as villains, the United Nations hired Theodore Sorensen to lobby with the network ('Amerika' isn't Beautiful, 1987). Fearing the effects of "Amerika's" content on its "The Pride is Back" advertising theme, Chrysler Corporation withdrew $7 million worth of commercials from the series (Donlon, 1987) After the series produced disappointing ratings (an average 19 rating and 29 share for the series) and lost $19 million, Variety reporter Bob Knight (1987) suggested that the lasting impact of "Amerika" was to destroy the long mini-series format, rather than to change audience attitudes.

None-the-less, protests by the United Nations and other groups (ABC's Amerikan Dream, 1987) were founded on the belief that this consciously political mini-series would have direct effects on audience attitudes, including attitudes about the UN, U.S./Soviet relations, communist aggression, and the need for a strong defense.

Theoretical Rationale for the Study

Some theorists have suggested the effects of a particular mass media message such as a television mini-series will be modified by the larger information context of the message. Thus, communication researchers interested in the impact of a particular message need to be sensitive to the audience's previous experience with the ideas expressed in that message.

Schramm's analogy between the formation of stalagmites and the effects of communication on human development illustrates how exposure to different mass media messages might gradually influence personality. Schramm (1954: 125) suggests that the media produces effects just as "the stalagmite builds up from the calcareous residue of the water dripping on it from the cave roof." Each drop leaves "only a tiny residue." Similarly,

> when we introduce one drop of communication into a person where millions of drops have already fallen and left their residue, we can hardly expect to reshape the personality fundamentally by that one drop.

However, many "drops" of communication can leave a lasting impression.

Similarly, Becker's (1978) mosaic model of communication highlights the role of memory in assessing the impact of new "bits" of information. For most topics there is an almost infinite collection of information bits among which the audience consumes only a small amount. Audience choices are governed, in turn, by existing attitudes and pictures of reality. New bits of information are added to existing memory about a topic and also interact with related message sets (attitudes). Thus, in the typical situation, new information bits may have a limited influence. But Becker also illustrates how on rare occasions the information environment, including both mass and interpersonal communication, can become saturated with information concerning one topic, making it very difficult for individuals to escape the impact of communication. His description of his personal "communication mosaic" at the time of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. demonstrates how one event can temporarily dominate our communication environment and most likely produce changes in attitudes and behaviors.

Both Schramm and Becker see the impact of communication as occurring in the context of a rich environment from which any individual may consume a little or a lot. The individual's previously accumulated experience with the subject and the degree of saturation in the current communication environment are of prime importance in predicting the impact of a message on attitude. From this perspective, the prime-time mini-series is especially interesting because, unlike most television programming which occupies an audience member's attention for

only part of one evening, the committed mini-series viewer is immersed in the program for several days. During this time, a substantial part of the person's communication environment originates from this source. Thus, a well executed, persuasive mini-series may well have a modest impact on viewers, particularly if it treats a subject with which the viewer has limited experience or weak attitudes.

Previous Mini-Series Studies

Previous studies of television mini-series have focused on four series: "Roots," "Roots: The Next Generation," "Holocaust," and "Shogun," with "Roots" and "Holocaust" receiving the most attention.

The extraordinarily successful February, 1977 broadcast of "Roots" by ABC launched the mini-series as both social commentary and subject of mass communication research. Howard, Rothbart and Sloan's (1978) national survey of U.S. adults found that both whites and white collar blacks expressed concerns about the harmful effects of the series on blacks. And Ryback and Connell (1978) presented evidence of one such effect: a significant increase in the number of blacks assigned to after-school detention in two Georgia high schools. However, Balon's (1978) survey of adults in a southern community revealed that respondents, especially whites, viewed the program as an accurate depiction of both slavery and the behavior of whites during the period.

Evidence of selective exposure and perception emerged in several "Roots" studies. In a survey of junior high and high school students, Hur (1978) reported minimal impact on perceptions of what many believed to be the central message of the series, the hardships of black slavery. Hur also found evidence of selective perception: respondents with liberal racial attitudes were most likely to be affected by the series. In a study of adults, Hur and Robinson's (1978) results were supportive of both selective exposure and perception hypotheses with minimal evidence of change in racial attitudes. But in a later uses and gratifications study, Hur and Robinson (1981) found that British respondents saw the series as both believable and significant, and perceived their attitudes had changed toward blacks, racial integration, and the negative aspects of slavery. Finally, Surlin (1978a) noted viewers high in authoritarianism were more likely to perceive selectively the series in ways that supported their already existing attitudes.

Summarizing the results of Howard et al., Balon, Hur, as well as unpublished results from McAllister-Johnson (1977) and Surlin (1978b), Surlin (1978a: 319) concluded that "Roots" was highly regarded, widely discussed, and solicited "feelings of guilt/sadness from white viewers and feelings of anger/hostility from black viewers."

Although significant in number, the studies of "Roots" all used a post-test-only design. As Ball-Rokeach, Grube, and Rokeach (1981) noted, a post-test-only design must rely on recall measures of attitude change rather than direct comparisons of

attitudes before and after the viewing experience. In their study of "Roots: The Next Generation," Ball-Rokeach et al. used a "less equivocal pretest/post-test design" to measure "program effects by directly comparing the egalitarian beliefs of viewers and nonviewers at two points in time" (p. 61). The researchers found evidence of selective exposure, a positive relationship between egalitarianism and viewing, but no evidence that the program affected egalitarianism.

Other than "Roots," only the mini-series "Holocaust" has received substantial attention from researchers. Most "Holocaust" research was part of a multi-national effort published in a special issue of the International Journal of Political Education. Post-test-only studies in seven nations revealed that the series was "difficult or disturbing to watch" (Americans Confront, 1981: 5), made viewers think more about persecution of the innocent (Burstin, 1981), persuaded a minority of viewers to see the Jews as more responsible for their fate (Hormuth & Stephan, 1981a; Hormuth & Stephan, 1981b), led to a short-term increase in knowledge (Dusek, 1981), gave viewers the feeling "they had been well informed" (Carminati, 1981: 87), was seen as credible (Nilsson, 1981), and "evoked a powerful emotional response" (Dyer & Rawcliffe-King, 1981: 125).

Three pretest/post-test studies of "Holocaust" were also reported. Although the changes were modest, Varzijden and Van Lil (1981) found in a three wave study of secondary school students with little knowledge of World War II who viewed "Holocaust" increased in political self-confidence and became

more supportive of moderation in the actions of authority figures. Student viewers knowledgeable about World War II were less tolerant of anti-Semitism, but more tolerant of violence used to fight oppression. Using an edited 60 minute version of the series, Noble and Osmond (1981: 139) reported "no significant attitude change" toward Germans or Jews, despite the fact that the great majority of the 60 university students tested saw the series as realistic. Finally, in a trend analysis that compared the results of polls conducted before and after the airing of "Holocaust" in the Federal Republic of Germany, Ernst (1981) found "Holocaust" viewers were more likely than nonviewers to favor the continued prosecution of those guilty of Nazi era crimes, to believe that the Nazi era was a very bad time in their country's history, to agree that Germany has a moral duty to make reparations, and to believe that Jews compare favorably with other citizens and that all adult Nazi era Germans share some blame for the holocaust.

Since the "Holocaust" studies, audience research on the television mini-series has been confined to one study of "Shogun." Shatzer, Korzenny, and Griffis-Korzenny's (1985) post-test-only survey of high school juniors found evidence of incidental learning about Japanese customs, history, and language as well as limited attitude change. In particular, exposure to "Shogun" was found to be a significant predictor of the desire for a closer social relationship with Japan.

Hypotheses

The previous theory and research reviewed here would suggests that for a mini-series such as "Amerika:"

1. Selective exposure should be evident. Pretest attitudes consistent with the content of the series should be positively and significantly correlated with exposure to "Amerika."
2. Modest attitude change should occur. Pretest to post-test changes in attitudes consistent with the content of the series should be weakly, but significantly, correlated with exposure to "Amerika."

In addition, the previous theoretical discussion (Schramm, 1954; Becker, 1978) suggests that the larger communication environment surrounding the series should also be measured and its impact on attitudes evaluated. Thus, exposure to both interpersonal communication and publicity concerning the series were included in the data analyses.

Method

The respondents were 267 students enrolled in undergraduate communication courses at Memphis State University. Seventy-one percent of the sample came from the predominantly non-major introductory public speaking course. Although participation was voluntary, less than one percent of the students refused to participate in the study.

The respondents completed the pretest during the week prior to the airing of the "Amerika" mini-series and the post-test during the week after the airing of the series. Both the pretest and the post-test were administered during regular classes by course

instructors, following written instructions. Only attitude items were included in the pretest. No reference was made to the "Amerika" mini-series until after students had completed all post-test items except those specifically concerning "Amerika." When the pretest and the post-test were administered, the respondents were told only that the purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information about student attitudes on topics of national interest. Course instructors were requested to avoid all references to the "Amerika" mini-series until the completion of the post-test.

Both the pretest and the post-test questionnaires included 42 items broken into six attitude scales of seven items each. The six scales measured attitudes toward the United Nations, patriotism, communism, U.S./Soviet Relations, American Communists, and pacifism. The possible responses to these items were (1) strongly agree, (2) moderately agree, (3) slightly agree, (4) not sure, (5) slightly disagree, (6) moderately disagree, (7) strongly disagree. The scoring of some items was reversed to provide a consistent direction for all items. (See Table 1.) For all items, a higher score meant that the respondent's attitude was consistent with the images that pre-air publicity suggested would be presented in the mini-series--images that would encourage hostility toward the United Nations, promote patriotism, increase concern about the threat of world communism and American communists, promote pessimism about U.S./Soviet relations, and decrease pacifism. Most items for the six scales were taken from previous research.[1] In addition to the 42

attitude items, the post-test questionnaire also included items measuring exposure to "Amerika," exposure to publicity about "Amerika," and interpersonal communication concerning the series.

Exposure to the "Amerika" mini-series was measured by summing the respondents' answers to seven items which measured exposure for each installment of the mini-series. Each item asked how much of a particular installment of the mini-series the respondent watched: none of it, about 1/4, about 1/2, about 3/4, and all of it. These percentages were converted into the number of minutes they represented for a particular installment. The exposures in minutes to each of the seven installments were summed to produce the final measure of exposure to the entire series.

Exposure to series publicity was measured using a scale consisting of five equally weighted items, including separate items measuring exposure to newspapers, magazines, radio, television newscasts, and television advertisements. For each item, respondents indicated how often that had (read, heard, seen) about the "Amerika" mini-series. Interpersonal communication about "Amerika" was measured using one item which asked respondents how often they had talked with other people about the series.

Using responses to the 42 attitude items obtained from the pretest, separate factor analyses were run on each group of seven items for each of the six topic areas. The factors generated in these analyses were used to create the dependent variables used

in the analyses. The dependent variables were created by averaging respondent scores for the items that loaded on a particular factor. Attitude change was inferred from the comparison of the mean pretest and post-test scores of each dependent variable and calculated by subtracting respondents' pretest scores from their post-test scores for each dependent variable. Correlations were used to measure the strength and statistical significance of the relationships between attitude changes occurring in the dependent variables and three independent variables: exposure to "Amerika," interpersonal communication about "Amerika," and exposure to publicity about "Amerika."[2]

Results

Factor Analyses

The results of the six attitude scale factor analyses are presented in Table 1. All six analyses used principal axis factoring with a varimax rotation. Items were assigned to a particular factor if their strongest loading was on that factor and was above .4.

The factor analysis of the United Nations scale items produced a two factor solution with factor 1 including four items (1, 3, 5, 7) related to U.S. support for the UN and factor 2 including two items (2, 6) concerning actions by the United Nations. The analysis of the patriotism scale items produced a three factor solution. Factor 1 included three items (2, 4, 6) concerning the relative importance of loyalty to one's country. Factor 2 included two items (3, 7) related to the need to make personal

sacrifices for one's country. Factor 3 consisted of one item (5) which suggests that Americans have more freedom than citizens of any other country.

A two factor solution was obtained for the general communism scale items. Factor 1 included four items (1, 2, 4, 6) concerning the communist threat and factor 2 consisted of two items (3, 7) measuring the acceptability of communist governments in other countries. The analysis of the U.S./ Soviet relations items produced a two factor solution with factor 1 including three items (5, 6, 7) related to the possibility of U.S. Soviet agreements and factor 2 consisting of three items concerning national defense (1, 2, 3).

All seven tolerance for communists in America items loaded on a single factor. The analysis of the pacifism scale items produced a two factor solution. Factor 1 included three items (1, 5, 7) concerning the spread of communism and the risk of war. Four general pacifism items (2, 3, 4, 6) loaded on factor 2.

Pretest Correlations

In Table 2, the correlations between the pretest scores for each dependent variable and exposure to the series, interpersonal communication about the series, and series publicity are presented. Selective exposure theory would predict that persons with attitudes consistent with those expressed in the mini-series should be more likely to view the mini-series. This should produce a positive, statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) relationship between exposure to the series and "pro-Amerika" attitudes. Three such relationships were found. Although the

correlations were weak ($r_s \leq .11$), exposure to "Amerika" was positively correlated with the perception that Americans have more freedom than citizens of other countries, with the belief in a strong national defense, and with the belief that the communist threat is important. Interpersonal communication about the series was positively correlated ($r = .102$) with the belief in a strong national defense and with lower levels of general pacifism ($r = .115$). However, it was negatively correlated with beliefs that U.S. should not support the UN ($r = -.164$). These beliefs were also negatively related ($r = -.106$) to exposure to series publicity.

Attitude Change Correlations

Table 3 presents the correlations between pretest/post-test attitude change and exposure to "Amerika," exposure to interpersonal communication about the series, and exposure to series publicity. There were significant ($p \leq .05$) positive relationships between exposure to the series and attitude change in favor of a strong national defense ($r_s = .140$) and the increasing need to make sacrifices for one's country ($r_s = .135$). Interpersonal communication was more weakly related to change in favor of a strong national defense ($r = .103$), but more strongly related to the increasing need to make sacrifices for one's country ($r = .152$, $p \leq .01$). Exposure to the publicity surrounding the series was negatively related ($r = -.208$, $p \leq .01$) to attitude change favoring increased loyalty to one's country.

Discussion

In this study, the response to "Amerika" was characterized by low levels of exposure to the series. Sixty-four percent of the respondents reported no exposure to the series and only 18 percent reported viewing more than two hours of the 14 and a half hour mini-series. The typically below average levels of television viewing experience by most undergraduates certainly accounts for some of this reaction, but the failure of "Amerika" to capture the attention of a large component of the general television audience (Knight, 1987) suggests that the series had a more limited appeal than many of the earlier examples of the mini-series.

In reviewing the attitude change correlations, it appears that attitude change was focused on actions that should be taken to prevent the kind of Soviet conquest depicted in the series. In particular, exposure to the series was significantly, although modestly, related to an increasing belief that personal sacrifice and improvements in military defense are necessary. However, attitudes concerning particular institutions or groups (the United Nations, Communism, American communists) or philosophical positions (pacifism, loyalty to one's country) did not seem to be affected by exposure to the series.

Interpersonal communication also was modestly correlated with attitude change about the necessity to sacrifice and stronger military defense. Since interpersonal communication about and exposure to the series were strongly correlated ($r = .436$), this finding is not surprising.

However, when only exposure to series publicity, much of it negative, was considered, all the positive relationships with attitude change disappeared. The only significant relationship is a negative one. Those respondents who experienced an increasing sense of loyalty to their country were somewhat less likely to have been exposed to series publicity. In this study, the publicity about the series and the text itself showed some tendency to produce opposite effects, offering support for Becker's (1978) inclination to consider more than just the specific media text (in this case a television mini-series) in studying its effects.

Analyses of the correlations between pretest attitudes and exposure showed some tendencies toward selective exposure. Respondents with stronger beliefs that Americans have more freedom than citizens of other countries, that the communist threat is important, and that the U.S. needs a strong military defense were slightly more likely to view more of the series than others. Respondents with negative attitudes about the U.S. commitment to the United Nations were less likely to consume series publicity, some of which was critical of "Amerika"'s unfavorable depiction of the UN.

The results of this study show that even a television mini-series of relatively limited appeal can have modest effects on some attitudes. However, in this instance, the affected attitudes were related to actions that could be taken to prevent the events portrayed in the series and not to groups, institutions, or philosophical positions associated with series'

content. The tendency toward selective exposure noted in several previous mini-series studies (Hur, 1978; Hur & Robinson, 1978; Surlin, 1978a; Ball-Rokeach et al., 1981) was also evident in this study. "Amerika" may not have captured record audiences, but it did suggest to some viewers that Americans need to do more to protect their freedoms.

Notes

1. United Nations scale items one, two, three, four, and six were derived from public opinion poll items reported in Sills, (1976). Smith (1983) was the source of public opinion poll items adapted for the Communism scale (items one, two, three, four, and seven), the U.S./Soviet Relations scale (items one, two, four, five, and six), and the Tolerance for Communists in America scale (all seven items). The patriotism and pacifism scales were adapted from scales reported in Robinson and Shaver (1973). All other items were researcher generated.

2. Pearson product-moment correlations were used to measure the relationships between the dependent variables, and exposure to series publicity and exposure to interpersonal communication about the series. However, since only 36% of the respondents reported any viewing of "Amerika," the measurement of exposure to the series produced a positively skewed and, thus, non-normal frequency distribution. As Norusis (1983: 130) notes, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient should be used with "interval data that do not satisfy the normality assumption" instead of the more common Pearson product-moment correlation. Thus, Spearman's rank correlation coefficients were used to measure the relationships between the dependent variables and exposure to "Amerika."

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Table 1
Factor Analyses of the Six Attitude Scales

(R) indicates that the scoring for a item is reversed.
Items loading on a factor are underlined.

UNITED NATIONS SCALE	Factor Loadings F1	F2
1. I think that the United States should give up its membership in the United Nations.(R)	.534	.202
2. In general, I feel that the United Nations is doing a good job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face.	.144	.747
3. I think that the United States' financial support for the United Nations should be decreased.(R)	.529	.097
4. I think that the United Nations has been highly effective in working to improve health care around the world.	.101	.294
5. Usually, the United Nations sides with other countries against the best interests of the U.S.(R)	.633	.139
6. I think that the United Nations has been highly effective in keeping world peace.	.030	.571
7. By belonging to the United Nations we are running the danger of losing the right to control our own affairs.(R)	.693	.016

PATRIOTISM SCALE	F1	F2	F3
1. The United States has the best form of government in the world.(R)	.222	.346	.275
2. One should show greater loyalty towards humanity than towards the United States as a country.	.719	.004	.169
3. Americans must be prepared to make great personal sacrifices, if they are to protect their freedoms.(R)	.023	.569	.109
4. Some duties are more important than my duties toward my country.	.407	.077	.115
5. Americans have more freedom than the citizens of any other country.(R)	.095	.166	.772
6. All human beings are equally important. No American is of more value than any other person from any other country.	.424	.216	-.119
7. Americans must forever be on guard against those who would take away their freedom.(R)	.147	.608	.066

Table 1 Continued

COMMUNISM SCALE	Factor Loadings F1	F2
1. I am worried about the threat of communism.(R)	.644	.030
2. A Communist government is the worst kind of government.(R)	.646	.212
3. A Communist government is all right for some countries.	.332	.704
4. Communists are committed to global domination.(R)	.699	.008
5. People living under a Communist government are no worse off than people living under a dictator.	.072	.145
6. The most important Communist goal is the takeover of the United States Government.(R)	.702	.162
7. Not all Communist governments are bad for their people.	.334	.729
U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS SCALE	**F1**	**F2**
1. I think that the military strength of the United States should be superior to Russia.(R)	.365	.545
2. We are spending too much money on the military, armaments, and defense.	.162	.530
3. I think that the United States should continue developing the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars" program).(R)	.082	.842
4. I feel that relations between the United States and Russia are improving.	.215	-.327
5. I think it is impossible for the United States and Russia to reach a long-term agreement to help keep the peace.(R)	.749	.020
6. I believe that Russia can be trusted to live up to a long-term agreement to help keep the peace.	.617	.158
7. The United States and Russia will always be enemies.(R)	.701	.071

Table 1 Continued

TOLERANCE FOR COMMUNISTS IN AMERICA SCALE	Factor Loadings F1
1. A person who admits he is a Communist should be allowed to make a speech at Memphis State.	.496
2. I feel that the American Communist Party should be put under surveillance by the federal government.(R)	.581
3. A person who admits he is a Communist should not be allowed to teach at any high school.(R)	.862
4. I feel that American Communists are a great danger to this country at the present time.(R)	.649
5. A person who admits he is a Communist should be allowed to teach at any college or university.	.718
6. A person who admits he is a Communist should be allowed to work for the federal government.	.454
7. A person who admits he is a Communist should not be allowed to work in a plant that makes weapons for the U.S. military.(R)	.494

PACIFISM SCALE	F1	F2
1. The U.S. must be willing to run any risk of war which may be necessary to prevent the spread of Communism.(R)	.457	.287
2. If disarmament negotiations are not successful, the U.S. should begin a gradual program of unilateral disarmament--i.e., disarm whether other countries do or not.	.195	.456
3. Pacifism, the belief that war must never be used to solve disputes between nations, is simply not a practical philosophy in the world today.(R)	.051	.576
4. Pacifist demonstrations--picketing missile bases, peace walks, etc.--are harmful to the best interest of the American people.(R)	.338	.456
5. The U.S. has no moral right to carry its struggle against Communism to the point of risking the destruction of the human race.	.677	.076
6. It is contrary to my moral principles to participate in war and the killing of other people.	.324	.546
7. The real enemy today is no longer Communism but rather war itself.	.533	.261

Table 2
Pre-Test Correlations

	r_S with Amerika	r^2 with Interpersonal Communication	r^2 with Publicity
UNITED NATIONS FACTORS			
U.S. Support for UN	-.090	-.164**	-.106*
UN Actions	-.064	.036	.031
PATRIOTISM FACTORS			
Loyalty to Country	.033	.059	.051
Sacrifices for Country	.055	.050	.014
Americans Have More Freedom	.109*	.076	.043
COMMUNISM FACTORS			
Communist Threat	.110*	.042	-.013
Communist Governments	.007	-.005	.032
U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS FACTORS			
U.S./Soviet Agreements	.009	.012	-.029
Military Defense	.102*	.102*	.028
TOLERANCE FOR COMMUNISTS	.035	.085	.023
PACIFISM FACTORS			
Communist Threat & Threat of War	.025	.058	.016
General Pacifism	.012	.115*	.084

* significant at $p \leq .05$.
** significant at $p \leq .01$.

Table 3
Attitude Change Correlations

	r^2_S with Amerika	r^2 with Interpersonal Communication	r^2 with Publicity
UNITED NATIONS FACTORS			
U.S. Support for UN	.087	.063	.013
UN Actions	-.018	-.049	-.024
PATRIOTISM FACTORS			
Loyalty to Country	.018	-.095	-.208**
Sacrifices for Country	.135*	.152**	-.025
Americans Have More Freedom	.073	.060	.019
COMMUNISM FACTORS			
Communist Threat	.063	.101	.026
Communist Governments	.003	.087	.030
U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS FACTORS			
U.S./Soviet Agreements	-.075	-.018	.006
Military Defense	.140*	.103*	.034
TOLERANCE FOR COMMUNISTS	.073	-.006	.033
PACIFISM FACTORS			
Communist Threat & Threat of War	.037	-.036	-.015
General Pacifism	.046	-.065	-.077

* significant at $p \leq .05$.
** significant at $p \leq .01$.